

## Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-02

INFO OCT-01 IO-02 ISO-00 /005 R

66617

DRAFTED BY: NEA/INS:RDLORTON

APPROVED BY: NEA/INS:DKUX

IO/SCT:FGALANTO

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R 252246Z MAY 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

S E C R E T STATE 110850

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 08226 SENT SECSTATE INFO TEHRAN HONG KONG  
TOKYO CANBERRA CAPE TOWN BRASILIA TEL AVIV OTTAWA ROME LONDON  
BUENOS AIRES MOSCOW PARIS TAIPEI PEKING GENEVA NEW DELHI  
JERUSALEM DAMASCUS CAIRO DATED MAY 23.

QUOTE

S E C R E T BONN 08226

NOFORN

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH

PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: TECH, IN, PARM, GW

SUBJECT: INDIAN NUCLEAR TESTING, NON-PROLIFERATION AND  
FRG WISH TO COORDINATE POLICY

REF: (A) STATE 104647, (B) BONN 08038

BEGIN SUMMARY: GERMANS HAVE SO FAR MUTED PUBLIC REACTION  
BUT THE FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER HAS EXPRESSED  
"GENUINE SHOCK" OVER INDIA'S DECISION TO GO NUCLEAR.

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GERMANS ARE GREATLY TROUBLED THAT THIS FIRST BREACH IN

NONPROLIFERATION POLICY SINCE NPT CAN LEAD AGAIN TO NTH COUNTRY PROBLEM, PARTICULARLY IN MIDEAST AND/OR SOUTH AFRICA. BONN ALSO WORRIED THAT JAPAN AND ITALY MIGHT NOW DELAY RATIFICATION; GIVEN INTERPLAY BETWEEN NPT AND VERIFICATION AGREEMENT, GERMANS UNLIKELY TO DEPOSIT NPT RATIFICATION INSTRUMENTS UNTIL ITALY RATIFIES BOTH TREATIES. FRG SPOKESMAN HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED TO INFORM PRESS, ON IF ASKED BASIS, THAT GERMANY "REGRETS" INDIAN TEST. GERMANS MAY WISH TO CONSULT WITH US (AND UK), PERHAPS DURING DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH'S VISIT, ON WHAT TO DO NEXT REGARDING INDIA (PERHAPS WITHHOLDING NUCLEAR MATERIALS) AND NON-PROLIFERATION. END SUMMARY.

1. OFFICIAL FRG REACTION TO THE INDIAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSION HAS BEEN MUTED SO FAR. THE PRESS HAS CARRIED NUMEROUS REPORTS AND EDITORIALS RANGING FROM SKEPTICISM OVER NEW DELHI'S PROFESSED PEACEFUL INTENTIONS TO CONDEMNATION OF THE FIRST BREACH IN NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY SINCE THE NEGOTIATION AND SIGNING OF THE NPT. THE PRESS HAS SPOKEN MUCH OF INDIAN "HYPOCRISY" AND/OR INDIRA GHANDIS USE OF THE NUCLEAR EXPLOSION TO DIVERT ATTENTION OF INDIA'S MASSES FROM THE MORE MUNDANE BUT PRESSING EXIGENCIES OF DAILY WANTS. AFTER BEING INFORMED PERSONALLY MAY 18 BY THE INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE NUCLEAR TEST AND ITS "PEACEFUL PURPOSES", FRG AMBASSADOR (IN DELHI) DIEHL CABLED BACK AN ANALYSIS STRESSING MRS. GHANDIS WISH TO USE THE TEST FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL PURPOSES. NEITHER DIEHL NOR BONN ATTACH MUCH CREDIBILITY TO TALK OF PEACEFUL PURPOSES.

2. AT MAY 22 SOCIAL EVENT, FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH TOOK EMBOFF ASIDE TO EXPLAIN AT SOME LENGTH HIS GENUINE SHOCK OVER IMPLICATIONS OF INDIAN DECISION TO GO NUCLEAR. IT WAS NOT WHOLLY CLEAR TO ROTH WHY DELHI TOOK THE DECISION AT THIS TIME, SINCE, AS ROTH UNDERSTOOD IT, INDIA HAD HAD THE CAPABILITY TO GO NUCLEAR SINCE 1966. THE GERMANS ARE TRYING TO LEARN MORE REGARDING THE CHARACTERISTICS AND MAGNITUDE OF THE BLAST, AS WELL AS WHICH THIRD COUNTRY NOTED AND MEASURED THE SEISMIC EVENT.

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3. BUT, IN ROTH'S WORDS, THE HEART OF THE MATTER IS THAT, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE NPT, THE LID IS OFF THE BOTTLE CONTAINING THE NUCLEAR GENIE AND THE NTH COUNTRY DANGER HAS THUS BEEN RESURRECTED. FRG AMB GREWE HAS CABLED FROM TOKYO HIS ASSESSMENT THAT JAPAN MAY DELAY RATIFICATION OF THE NPT. WHILE LESS PESSIMISTIC THAN GREWE REGARDING THE JAPANESE, ROTH DID

VOICE CONCERN REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA, IN VIEW OF THE  
METAMORPHASIS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE

PORTUGUESE AFRICAN COLONIES OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA.  
EVEN MORE WORRISOME WAS THE PROSPECT THAT, INTERALIA,  
EGYPT, ISRAEL AND OTHERS MIGHT EMULATE INDIA'S EXAMPLE  
SHOULD A DURABLE MIDEAST PEACE PROVE ELUSIVE.

4. NOTING AMB MARTIN'S STATEMENT TO THE CCD (GENEVA  
3189), ROTH RECALLED THAT NON-PROLIFERATION HAD BEEN THE  
CORE OF US NUCLEAR POLICY FOR MORE THAN A DECADE. FROM  
MARTIN'S BRIEF STATEMENT, HE ASSUMED AND HOPED THAT THIS  
REMAINED THE CASE.

5. ROTH SAID HE HAD DECIDED INITIALLY TO REACT COOLY TO  
THE INDIAN TEST AS NOTHING COULD BE GAINED BY INTEMPER-  
ATE STATEMENTS OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONS. SO FAR, THERE HAS  
BEEN NO FRG PUBLIC STATEMENT OF CRITICISM OR DEMARCHE  
IN DELHI. ON AN IF-ASKED BASIS, ROTH DID AUTHORIZE THE  
FRG SPOKESMAN TO TELL THE PRESS THAT:

A. THE FRG HAS NOTED "WITH REGRET" THE INDIAN  
NUCLEAR EXPLOSION;

B. THE FRG CONTINUES TO FAVOR A POLICY OF NON-  
PROLIFERATION AND WILL GO FORWARD WITH THE DEPOSIT OF  
THE INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION OF THE NPT IN CON-  
NECTION WITH THE RATIFICATION OF THE NPT AND  
EURATOM-IAEA VERIFICATION AGREEMENT BY BONN'S OTHER  
EC PARTNERS -- I.E. INCLUDING ITALY.

C. THE FRG HAS NOTED -- WITHOUT FURTHER COMMENT  
-- THE STATEMENT OF THE INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER RE-  
GARDING INDIA'S "PEACEFUL PURPOSES".

AS FAR AS WE HAVE SEEN, THE GERMAN PRESS HAS NOT YET  
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REPORTED THIS STATEMENT OF OFFICIAL FRG REACTION.

6. ROTH EMPHASIZED THE VIEW, WHICH HE WILL PUT MAY 24  
TO FONOFF STATE SECRETARY FRANK, THAT THE MAJOR WESTERN  
SIGNATORIES OF THE NPT (US, UK,FRG) SHOULD COORDINATE  
AN EFFECTIVE REACTION TO THE INDIAN TEST IF THE CREDI-  
BILITY OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY IS TO BE MAIN-  
TAINED. IN PARTICULAR, ROTH INTENDS TO RECOMMEND TO  
FRANK THAT THE GERMANS USE THE VISIT TO BONN OF DEPUTY  
SECRETARY RUSH TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBLE COORDINATION OF  
PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND/OR DEMARCHES IN NEW DELHI. AS TO  
CONCRETE ACTION, ROTH OPPOSES EXPLOITATION OF DELHI'S  
DEPENDENCE ON WESTERN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE -- INDIA GETS  
DM 350 MILLION ANNUALLY FROM BONN. HE IS INCLINED, HOW-  
EVER, TO EXAMINE A THREATENED CUT-OFF IN THE SUPPLY OF

FISSILEE MATERIALS. ROTH WILL ENCOURAGE FRANK TO COORDINATE WESTERN POLICIES WITH THE US, UK AND OTHER APPROPRIATE COUNTRIES. HE ASSUMES FRANCE WILL NOT WISH TO JOIN IN SUCH COORDINATION.

7. ROTH CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING HIS CONCERN THAT THE INDIAN TEST MIGHT RESULT IN A FURTHER DELAY IN ITALIAN RATIFICATION OF THE NPT AND EURATOM-IAEA VERIFICATION AGREEMENT. HE RECALLED THAT NPT ARTICLE 3 HAS AN EIGHTEEN-MONTH TIME LIMIT FOR THE ENTERING INTO FORCE OF THE VERIFICATION AGREEMENT (SEE BONN 4114). HE NOTED THE ALREADY "GLACIAL PACE" OF ITALIAN RATIFICATION PROCEEDINGS AND SAID THAT BONN HAD NO WISH TO DEPOSIT ITS NPT RATIFICATION INSTRUMENTS, ONLY LATER TO BE PLACED IN VIOLATION OF ARTICLE 3 DUE TO ITALIAN PROCRASTINATION. ACCORDINGLY, SAID ROTH, WHILE THE FRG INTENDS TO GO FORWARD WITH THE NPT RATIFICATION PROCESS, BONN IS UNLIKELY TO DEPOSIT ITS INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION UNTIL THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT RATIFIES BOTH THE NPT AND THE VERIFICATION AGREEMENT.

8. ROTH TOLD EMBOFF THAT CDU DEPUTY KURT BIRRENBACH HAD INFORMED HIM OF HIS DEEP CONCERN BOTH WITH THE INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST AND WITH POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS FOR ITALIAN RATIFICATION TIMETABLE. BIRRENBACH, WHO WAS VERY HELPFUL IN ROUNDING UP MAJORITY CDU/CSU SUPPORT FOR FRG PAR-  
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LIAMENTARY RATIFICATION OF THE NPT, ALSO MADE THE SAME POINTS MAY 22 TO THE AMBASSADOR.  
HILLENBRAND UNQUOTE BROWN

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, POLICIES, NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES, NUCLEAR TESTS, PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 MAY 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974STATE110850  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** NEA/INS:RDLORTON  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740132-0705  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740516/aaaaaocc.tel  
**Line Count:** 204  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN NEA  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** (A) STATE 104647, (B) BONN 08038  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 26 MAR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <26 MAR 2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <08 MAY 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** INDIAN NUCLEAR TESTING, NON-PROLIFERATION AND FRG WISH TO COORDINATE POLICY  
**TAGS:** TECH, PARM, IN, GE  
**To:** IAEA VIENNA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005